/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingua, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

657 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of [241] the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962. SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226]

Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéua/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

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the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

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In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

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The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/46 cont./

171 221 771 796 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 221 241 796 177 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe. The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 221 184 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups, the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 221 [184] Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for 177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the 241 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 196 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, ayatí-243 221 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is [191] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbĩa
Ñandéva

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415
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IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbĩá. 2. Ñandéva.

• 241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

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243 796 824 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú fiandé avatí mberüre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú fiandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá fiandé avatí djyguê); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

• 241 791 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 262 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary importance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
• 241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears): that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
[177] Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

2: Schaden--230 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
179 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, whic requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by mean of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *maté*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *maté* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *maté;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *maté*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[28]

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

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[28] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brasil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *perobas*, *cedros*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mata* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*omambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[27] James, 1942, p. 305. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[32] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] 121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the 241 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the 433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more 174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn 243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, 244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture 433 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every

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[32] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934-35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[48] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakubá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[48] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwé*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapúi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[48] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapúi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapúi* (perhaps group of *tapúi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapúi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapúi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapúi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapúi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 • 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapúi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapúi's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 596 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cáuí* and the [273] giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapúi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapúi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, #174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

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[48] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[47]

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[48] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[49] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri-

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[47] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934-35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[48] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

[49] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[81] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[82] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[128] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to.

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[129] The importance of the machete

[128] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[129] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 412 • 241 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 412 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most [426] [313] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with [241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and [342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache- [222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting [241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other [224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today [563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwé*. Corn, especially, is always planted *178 with the *sarakwé*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in 412 the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwé* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though [241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in [844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

*177 342 412 Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern housebuilding. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board" made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177
*178 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná
534 region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from Jesuit times.

The Annual Economic Cycle

221 At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is
• 241 almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the
*(178) total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *chonga;* they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground.

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear.

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown.

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cãuí'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic.

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBatí tupí'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[155] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages

[155] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[28] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 241 462

[28] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "dia sexto." [177]* [805]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for *178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 476 596 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puxirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

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number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapúi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapúi*. In other words, building a *tapúi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[142] The existing *tapúi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapúi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[148] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[148] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapéi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

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128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
• 241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
621 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

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A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

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*177 182 648 22 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[126]

*177 182 • 241 22 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II. A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse relationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[127]

*177 182 241 412 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural

[126] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculitor, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *kokué* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brasilians may not.

[411] [127] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

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work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools.

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis.

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork.

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes.

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts.

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

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tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differentiation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alternatives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own production as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

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suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen.

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[188]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture."

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[189]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

[188] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *howáh*.

[189] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

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*177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
• 241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

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[583] [171] [180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

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time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *change* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[168] It is suggested, therefore, that the *change* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasised by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

[168] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of *maté*.

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*177 182 • 241 462 476 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 182 462 464 476 648 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians. (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 182 43 464 476 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

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Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

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FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

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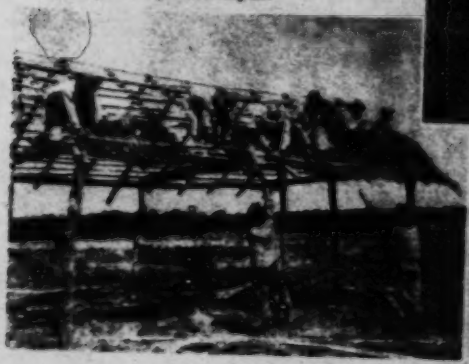

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapýi* at Taquaperi. Log tanks for *cáuí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

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FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbafirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapýi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

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FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

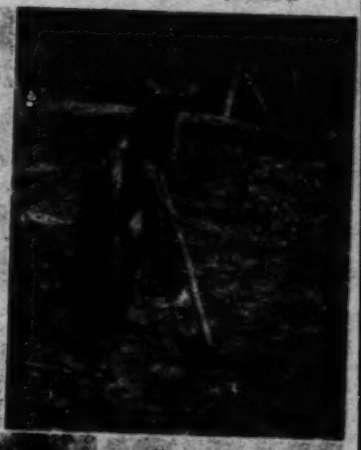

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*surakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

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FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaka*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauim* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

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101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of 241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, 36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations 657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for 101 the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-799 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil 36 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not [162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Catanduvá are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá* (*Kaygua*).

The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias, in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes, tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

Population.—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

Sources.—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañía de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Coyué* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine-men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changucar* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as
[465] peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking
439 grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
648 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

462 The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
[482] ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
• [241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[11] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[12]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[12] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as [241] one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[22] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[23] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[22] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[23] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seeking the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agriculture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agriculture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

178 476 156 (226)

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá.

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It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within.

[436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[33] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

[33] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

648 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
466 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [23] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[23] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, 142 481 the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,9 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SK4

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./
Gi
433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]